881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing abili-
868 ty as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
224 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
[178] go through the winter without depending on rabbit or deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27).—Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [789] [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the [177] Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although 771 it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

841 [P 382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
was that they must not eat meat during their periods.
[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed
the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people.
If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-
368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the
old. In actuality it would seem that only the children
and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my in-
formants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying
[886] for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or in-
ternal organs. To do so apparently would be an admis-
[841] sion of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes
to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat pur-
chased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison
or other game taken by someone they know, for fear
of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today
in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who
lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter.
In times past, certain women are reported to have
made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[178] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo,
particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an in-
dividual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo
[796] subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes
dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621).
Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all,
by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its produc-
tion was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the
pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among
all the Washo during the last part of the summer.
Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and sur-
vey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and
according to one informant: "If we have a couple of
bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a
222 pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to
be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship
to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant main-
tains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo ex-
cept his relatives and admitted by them only when
they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The ac-
count is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony
of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent
as other information is presented that it is a highly
idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it
includes a number of sacred elements of obvious im-
portance.

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832] cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 [881] 825 789 778 Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

763 825 The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 668 182 The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

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535

/General information on the pine-nut dance as part of the annual pine-nut harvest will be found in category 527./

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal). Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

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/Information on the pine-nut dances and the dances associated with the girls' puberty ceremony will be found in categories 527, 535, and 574./

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952; and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882; Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region; the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1926), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance. Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1926, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [2] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kd	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	All
398. Game believed immortal	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	*	-	+	-	-	-	-
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	-	+	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*
401. Offering of game kill	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	+	-	*	*	*	*	*
402. To "nature"	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
403. To spirit	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
404. With prayer	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
405. Piece of gall	-	-	-	-	+	+	*	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
406. Thrown in brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Gathering														
*410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
411a. In sand pit	+	*	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
412. Grinding in mortar (pawum)	+	*	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Miscellaneous Plants														
*420. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*424. Cactus fruit eaten (mavo or matas)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
426. "Stems" eaten	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
436. Needles burnt off	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
437. Needles brushed off	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
438. Roasted in ashes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
439. Roots	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
442. Pinon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	*	+	*
*443a. Hooked pole (tasam) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
443. End fire heat	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
443. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
445. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
451a. Piled on ground, covered	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
453. Combed cones stored	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
454. By burning	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
457. Unlined pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*458. Grass lined	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*462. Nuts ground on metate (nuta)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
462a. In mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
463. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*465. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
*467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+

[p.374]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[1]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[2] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[1] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[2] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[a] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[b] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[c]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[a] La Barre, 61.
[b] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[c] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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Washo NT20

of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[30] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[31]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[32] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[33]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[30] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[31] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[32] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[33] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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Washo NTZ0

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[50] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[51] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[52] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

[50] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[51] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[52] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[20]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[21] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

[20] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[21] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

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with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NA13
Washo NT20 ●
Comanche N06

Element	Occurrence																				
	13 T	E-4	Elo	Com	Elo	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Wm	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Ute	Gos	P-W	Sho				
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	–	+				
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+				
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	+				
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+				
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+				
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+				
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	+	+	+				
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+				
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+				
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+				
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+				
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+				
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+				
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+				
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+				

(Continued on next page)

N
W
171
534
795*
796 ●
C
171
534
795
796

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
N W 111 *795 796 [535] [276]

*Peyote Element Distribution List—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 3	WR8	Ute	Goo	F-P	Tem		
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•	+	+		
36. Pottery jar	•+		–	–		–	+	+		–	–	–		+					
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+			
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+			
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	•+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+			
41. 7 stones represent days			+	–		–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+			
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+			
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+•	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+		
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+		
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•–	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		
59. In oak leaves	+	–	+	+	–•(+)		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•–	–	+		
60. In paper	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+			

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR3
Washo NT20 ●
N
W
1711
*795
●796
[782]
[778]

PETOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Element	Occurrence																				
	NT	Ka	Kl	Cam	Kl	Alt	Di	Di	Wa	Mo C	Ch	Ch	Ell	Du	Gu	Pa	Tm				
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+				
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	°−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+				
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	−	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	°+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	°+	+	+	−	°−	+	+		+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+				
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	°+	°+	+	+	−				−	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+				
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		°+	+	(−)	−				−	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+				
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+				
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	°+	+	−		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
150. Worshippers incensed	+	°+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				

(Continued on next page)

N
W
111
1745*
1746
1747

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
NW
171
1945
●796
[533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Element	Occurrence																								
	Tmt.	Ar.	Cm.	Dn.	Ed.	Ft.	Gc.	Ho.	Ke.	Ma.	Mc.	Mn.	Mr.	Pa.	Pe.	Pi.	Pn.	Ra.	Ri.	Sa.	Sh.	Sk.	Ta.	Wa.	Wi.
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Leader incensed upon return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
201. Butt handed to leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Concluded on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																			
	LIT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kin	Ab S	Del	Dr 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Com	W-P	Tase
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	–	•+	–	+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	+	–	–
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	+	•+	–	+	–	–
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+·	+	+	•+	+			
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+		+		
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–				
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–				
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+		+		
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+		+		
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+				
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+				
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+				
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+		+		
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	–	+	+		+		
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+		+		
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–						

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Cam	Kla	Alv S	Do 1	Do 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Coe	W-P	Tam		
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+		
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+		
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+		+			
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+			
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+			
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+			
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+		
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+			
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+		•−	+		
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+						+		+			
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+		
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+		
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+	•	+	+		
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	+		
265a. (See note)																			

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NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 90). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WR8: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WR8: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WR8: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WR8: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WR8: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Goe: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

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Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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PLATE 1

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a. Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

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[179]

b. Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

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c. Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

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PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR